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NATAL: The challenge of non-violence

*I tell you naught for your comfort,
Yea, naught for your desire,
Save that the sky grows darker yet,
And the sea rises higher.*

—G. K. Chesterton, quoted by Father Huddleston in
“Naught for your Comfort.”

And there is, I should think, no Negro living in America who has not felt briefly, or for long periods, with anguish sharp or dull, in varying degrees and to varying effect, simple, naked, and unanswerable hatred; who has not wanted to smash any white face he may encounter in a day, to violate, out of motives of the cruelest vengeance, their women, to break the bodies of all white people and bring them low, as low as that dust into which he himself has been and is being trampled.

Yet the adjustment must be made—rather it must be attempted, the tension perpetually sustained—for without this he has surrendered his birthright as a man no less than his birthright as a black man. The entire universe is then peopled only with his enemies who are not only white men armed with rope and rifle, but his own far-flung and contemptible kinsmen. Their blackness is his degradation and it is their stupid and passive endurance which makes his end inevitable.—James Baldwin, the American Negro novelist, in “Notes of a Native Son.”

FATHER HUDDLESTON'S warning about “the rising tide” in South Africa has been borne out by the events of the last two months. African women in Natal have rioted, set fire to cane fields, burnt schools and resisted cattle dipping. Apartheid is reaching a point where it becomes intolerable and we can expect increasing resistance on the part of the Africans in the Union during the coming months.

The crucial choice for the Africans will be the form that their resistance takes. For

become very like the old oppressors will not be repeated.

AN EDITORIAL

BEWARE OF THIS PROPAGANDA

U.S. journalist's warning on Laos and the Khrushchov visit

THE SITUATION IN LAOS IS BEING USED IN WASHINGTON TO POISON THE ATMOSPHERE FOR THE KHRUSHCHOV VISIT.

This is the verdict of one of the best-informed political commentators in the American capital, I. F. Stone, who writes in his “Weekly” that “propaganda from Washington and Laos is building up a false picture of events in that far country.”

He points out that although the Government of the United States talks a great deal about “believing in free elections,” it balked at them in Indo-China.

“The US used its influence to prevent the free elections promised in Vietnam by the Geneva agreements, and when free elections were held in Laos,” says I. F. Stone, “we used our influence to oust the freely elected government and to put a new one which last January suspended constitutional guarantees altogether and resumed the political warfare the Geneva agreements were supposed to have ended.

Neutral, but

Though Laos was to be a neutral state, it is the one country where—

1. The USA pays the whole bill for the nation's army, and
2. Nobody has ever been able to find out exactly how many soldiers it subsidises.

to last year. The insurgents then escaped into Communist Vietnam . . . regrouped their forces and returned to invade Laos” and

2. From the Conservative London Sunday Times, Aug. 16: “It is less than two years since the Pathet Lao, 6,000 hard-fighting Communist guerrillas, came marching defiantly out of the jungles of Northern Laos to ‘lay down their arms’ . . . Those 6,000 men . . . it had been uneasily agreed, should be ‘integrated’ into the Royal Laotian Army. Gen. Ouane Rattikoun, ruthless Chief of Staff of the Royal Army, herded the battalions of hand-picked terrorists into two ‘protective camps’ and for more than a year blandly looked the other way

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FATHER HUDDLESTON'S warning about "the rising tide" in South Africa has been borne out by the events of the last two months. African women in Natal have rioted, set fire to cane fields, burnt schools and resisted cattle dipping. Apartheid is reaching a point where it becomes intolerable and we can expect increasing resistance on the part of the Africans in the Union during the coming months.

The crucial choice for the Africans will be the form that their resistance takes. For the following reasons, we believe it very important that resistance should continue along the non-violent lines so far advocated by the African National Congress.

1. Non-violence is the most practical method of resistance in the South African situation. In a violent struggle, the South African Government has great advantages because of its control over the armed forces and because of the modern weapons that these forces possess. In a non-violent struggle, the Africans have great advantages because without their co-operation the political and social structure of South Africa would collapse.

2. Non-violence attacks the roots of racial conflict. The white man justifies his economic and social privileges by arguing that coloured people are not mature or capable enough to play an equal part in society. But he soon begins to suspect that this treatment produces in coloured people the reaction described by James Baldwin (in the opening of the quotation at the head of this article). Outbreaks of violence of the kind that have taken place in Natal confirm his suspicions, increase his fears, and lead to increasing repression. By acting non-violently, the Negro refuses to conform to the white man's stereotype and places him in an unfamiliar situation where he is not able to act quickly and decisively in accordance with his preconceptions.

3. Non-violence demands courage and a belief in the capabilities of ordinary human beings. Its successful use creates an entirely new situation: the usual pattern of revolutions where the oppressed take over government and

become very like the old oppressors will not be repeated.

4. Violence encourages the whites to come together for their own safety. Non-violence does not encourage this "solidarity of fear." There are divisions already among white South Africans as the recent resignation of 12 MPs from the United Party shows. It is certain that as the impracticability of apartheid in its "pure" form becomes more evident there will be a split between the "idealistic" Afrikaaner intellectuals and the business interests inside the Nationalist party. Such divisions should be encouraged as much as possible.

There is a direct way that people in Britain can help a non-violent campaign. In PN July 17 we reported the boycott of South African goods which was launched in that country by Congress and which has been initiated in this country by the Committee of African Organisations. Everybody can support this campaign to the full by refusing to buy South African goods, telling their shopkeeper why, and asking him not to sell such goods. Members of co-operative societies can try to persuade their local society to support the boycott. But most important of all trade unionists could get their unions not to handle South African goods. There is a reasonable chance that the British trade union movement would support such a policy since it has taken a strong line on South Africa and since trade union movements in other countries are already co-operating with the boycott.

The use of non-violent methods is not a matter of interest only to Africans inside the Union. The successful use of such tactics would make non-violence the most important political challenge in our time. It is therefore doubly important that advocates of non-violence everywhere help the African National Congress.

AN EDITORIAL

Neutral, but

Though Laos was to be a neutral state, it is the one country where—

1. The USA pays the whole bill for the nation's army, and
2. Nobody has ever been able to find out exactly how many soldiers it subsidises.

"Much of our military aid," says Stone, "has been siphoned off into the pockets of a little clique of Laotian smoothies."

In addition to quoting the Manchester Guardian's editorial of Aug. 11, protesting at the falsification of the facts on Laos contained in a US Embassy press release, I. F. Stone contrasts the following two views of how the trouble in Laos started:

1. From the New York Times, Aug. 23: "The US said the conflict erupted when Communist dissidents in the Northern provinces balked at integration into the Government as agreed

THE BETTER WAY

... It would be a much more serious matter for the South African Government if the African National Congress were able to extend the use of non-violent opposition on the lines of the Johannesburg bus boycott or the present attempted "boycott" of nationalist goods. The Government has indeed tacitly recognised this fact by putting restrictions on Chief Luthuli, president-general of the Congress, and a noted advocate of moderate and non-violent methods... Chief Luthuli, from his place of relegation, has issued an appeal to the Natal rioters to cease from violence and destruction, but it is questionable whether his appeal will have much effect. Nevertheless, passive resistance, and particularly economic and industrial action if ever they were developed on an extensive scale could have a devastating effect on a community which is almost entirely dependent for manual labour on Africans.—The Times (London) editorial, Friday, August 28.

2. From the Conservative London Sunday Times, Aug. 16: "It is less than two years since the Pathet Lao, 6,000 hard-fighting Communist guerillas, came marching defiantly out of the jungles of Northern Laos to 'lay down their arms'... Those 6,000 men... it had been uneasily agreed, should be 'integrated' into the Royal Laotian Army. Gen. Ouane Rattikoun, ruthless Chief of Staff of the Royal Army, herded the battalions of hand-picked terrorists into two 'protective camps' and for more than a year blandly looked the other way whenever anyone naively recalled the pledge of 'integration'... The disarmed guerillas were held in what were virtually concentration camps... one of the two detained battalions managed to escape, and these fanatics are undoubtedly the hard core of the current skirmishing; it is as yet nothing more."

Poverty

Reporting last week to the Straits Times from Vientiane, the capital of Laos, John Williams described the northern borders as "one of the world's most backward areas, largely without schools, doctors, power or irrigation. 'Roads' are jungle tracks awash in mud during the months-long wet season. ... Railways do not exist."

"Last wet season, one northern village reaped a bumper rice harvest. The crop in a nearby village failed. But with no transport, the rice piled high in the first village while the second was kept alive by airdrops."

(See "In Perspective"—page four.)

Words not deeds

I think that the problem of the underdeveloped nations is more important for Western civilisation than this problem of the Soviet-Western differences and quarrel.

War has become so frightening in its capacity for destruction of the whole of civilisation that we... have the responsibility of making sure that our actions in all things we try to do are all directed by this single purpose and directed with what intelligence we can marshal with the brains which the good Lord gave us.

—President Eisenhower on TV in London, August 31, 1959.

THE ROLE OF THE RED CROSS

THROUGHOUT man's history there have continually occurred Bethlehem-like experiences when the eternal forces have broken through into time, transforming the life of one man by giving him a divinely-sent mission to transform the life of the world itself.

Such an experience was St. Paul's on the Damascus road, came to St. Francis of Assisi at the ruined chapel of St. Damian, and was John Wesley's at a meeting-house in Aldersgate Street.

In this truly apostolic succession of spiritual crises across the ages, a place must be accorded to the experience of Henri Dunant in the little church of Castiglione hard by the battlefield of Solferino, in 1859. For there, a century ago this year, close to that inferno of carnage which claimed over 40,000 of the Austrian and French armies killed or wounded in a single day, Dunant responded to the crying impulses of humanity and organised for a few what relief and succour he could spontaneously muster.

This historic episode, vividly portrayed by James Avery Joyce in his "Red Cross International and the Strategy of Peace" (Hodder and Stoughton, 25s.), was the beginning of the story of the Red Cross. Told many times before, it is an epic of human vision and humanitarian enterprise that needs to be recounted again and again, for it can never cease to inspire. The author conveys it with graphic writing and penetrating (though at times a trifle too didactic) commentary maintained throughout an extremely comprehensive narrative, brought doubly to life with a wealth of illustrations.

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B. G. COOPER reviews

Red Cross International and the Strategy of Peace, by James Avery Joyce (Hodder and Stoughton, 25s.; USA, Ocean Publications Inc.).

In this aim Henri Dunant succeeded. Within a week of the battle, Napoleon III demonstrated his practical sympathy towards Dunant's aims. Dunant's "Souvenir de Solferino," published in 1862, with its proposal to set up in peace time volunteer relief societies for the care of men wounded in war, aroused widespread interest throughout Europe. In England, Florence Nightingale thought the idea too daring, as trespassing upon the province of governments. Instinctively universal in his human sympathies, Dunant saw beyond that pioneer of modern nursing. He declared:

"What I want is a general mobilisation of all the charities of the world. I want an organisation which will be confined neither to England nor to any other country, but which will automatically go into action in every conflict—anywhere."

★ IN February, 1863, the Geneva Public Welfare Society's "Committee of Five," of which Dunant was a member, began to canvass his proposals as practical schemes among the leading men in the capitals of Europe.

By October of the same year, following extensive travelling and personal contacts by Dunant himself, an International Conference at Geneva, attended by representatives of seventeen nations including Britain, voted resolutions recommending the creation in all countries of voluntary committees for the relief of the wounded. Less than a year later, the Geneva International Committee had successfully convened the official diplomatic conference which produced the First Geneva Convention, the basis of all subsequent Conventions elaborating the principle of care of war wounded, and the neutrality of all establishments and personnel engaged in

debris while men slaughter each other.

But Dunant, its founder, was a pacifist—his goal was Peace. Is it not time that the work which he founded became a more positive force working towards the abolition of war? Radhakrishnan, speaking at the 1957 New Delhi Red Cross international conference, declared:

"The extension of the principles of the Red Cross into international relations would replace the present world of horror and hatred by a world of happiness and love."

No sane person would disagree with this dictum—but how much longer will we have to wait before governments listen to the voice of sanity?

Every pacifist should read this inspiring and thought-provoking book.

A PORTRAIT OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESISTANCE

Ronald Segal

From a Correspondent

FOR the past three years, the most pungent criticism of the South African Nationalist government has come, not so much from the daily Press, as from the pages of a quarterly periodical called Africa South.

Behind this enterprising periodical stands its 27-year-old editor, Ronald Segal, who has, not unexpectedly, brought upon himself displeasure of "apartheid" officialdom, and on more than one occasion provoked the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Eric Louw, to attack him.

But the price of criticism is high.

First, Segal's offices were raided, his car was burnt out by a petrol bomb hidden underneath it, and he received a series of threatening telephone calls. The callers merely

the Senate Bill, inflating the membership of that now-ludicrous body to give the government power to strike the Coloured voters off the common roll.

Segal felt that the situation had so deteriorated that he interrupted his studies to return to his native country. Harnessing his private funds to the production of a periodical, he took to political journalism. Africa South was launched in October, and its first editorial made clear the purpose for which it had been brought out.

"The world can never be safe for democracy and peace if a part of it is allowed to totter into tyranny," he wrote. "Liberty is not only indivisible within a particular country, it is indivisible all over the world. To preserve it at all anywhere, the world must preserve it everywhere. If South Africa is allowed to become a Totalitarian State, the citizens of England and America will find prized loose from under them one of the stones upon which their own vital liberties stand. . . ."

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PEACE NEWS

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By 1867 all the Great Powers had ratified the first Convention, and in 1882 the United States—largely as a result of Clara Barton's vigorous campaigning—followed suit.

In a useful chapter the author summarises the main provisions of the various Geneva Conventions, showing how they have developed to keep pace with the emergence of mass international conflict, undreamed of in the last century, and have been ever more closely defined to meet the conflicting assumptions of political and military expediency.

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Last month the Government took a personal hand. It banned Segal under the Suppression of Communism Act, which debars him from holding or attending any meetings of two people or more, or of being a member of any organisations or associations. A talk with a friend on a pavement can lead to years of imprisonment. The ban was imposed for five years. There is no appeal to the law courts, and the Minister of Justice does not have to give any reasons for the imposition of the ban. The Act is, in fact, a totalitarian guillotine

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It was a brave, bold voice, but almost from its inception it had trouble making itself heard. When the treason trials began in December, 1956, and the second issue of Africa South was dedicated to the 156 men and women involved, the printing firm dealing with it refused to handle the magazine. The risk, they said, was too great. Not everyone is made for martyrdom.

Official boycott

So a smaller firm was found. At the other end, government-controlled railway book-stalls refused to stock it. Yet, in spite of this official boycott, sales rose rapidly, and at 4,000 in South Africa alone, compared favourably with any similar project.

People bought it and many more read it—but nobody would advertise. No business was interested in running up a political skull-and-crossbones against the mighty Nationalist government, or flagrantly supporting its critics. So from the first day, Africa South ran at a loss.

Segal bore this loss himself, and continued to widen the scope of his periodical. Africa South began to make a name for itself. It was used as material for debates



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This book is not just another stirring history—it raises the whole question of the future rôle of the Red Cross in this era of the threat of nuclear disaster. Too many people today think of Red Cross only as an ambulance agency neutrally clearing up

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This last move by the government is the final phase of a struggle that began when Segal launched his publication in October, 1956. Unless some means can be found to circumvent it, it will mean that the voice of Africa South, and of free and independent criticism, will have been silenced in the Union of South Africa.

Student critic

Segal is the son of a wealthy and influential Cape Town family, and was a prominent and voluble speaker against government policies while at Cape Town university, where he was taking an Arts degree. From Cape Town he came to Cambridge, and there won a Du Pont Fellowship to Virginia University to take a Doctorate in English.

But this was 1956, and in South Africa the Nationalist government had just passed



which had been brought out.

"The world can never be safe for democracy and peace if a part of it is allowed to totter into tyranny," he wrote. "Liberty is not only indivisible within a particular country, it is indivisible all over the world. To preserve it at all anywhere, the world must preserve it everywhere. If South Africa is allowed to become a Totalitarian State, the citizens of England and America will find prized loose from under them one of the stones upon which their own vital liberties stand. . . ."

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Segal bore this loss himself, and continued to widen the scope of his periodical. Africa South began to make a name for itself. It was used as material for debates in the South African parliament, and read into the minutes of the UN debate on South West Africa where the Rev. Michael Scott quoted it. Mr. Eric Louw also referred to it at the United Nations—in one of the infrequent spells when he was not stamping out of the building altogether—when he made an aside about "a certain magazine."

In fact, nothing incensed him more than the periodical's attack on his dismissal of the UN Good Offices Committee on South West Africa, and he took up the cudgels again in the Senate. Segal, said Mr. Louw, was biting the hand that had fed him. His parents had done well in S.W. Africa. Now their son was attacking it, a man who had gone round all the US universities smearing White South Africa.

PEOPLE AND PLACES by PHYZ

ON THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN

BECAUSE of the rather special nature of the paper, PN staffmen are often outsiders among journalists. Consequently, observing the press at public meetings or conferences is often more interesting and revealing than the meeting or conference itself.

"That was a nice piece you wrote about the old man the other day," "I like what you wrote about the establishment." The tone is easy and familiar, the people know each other and the references. The non-nuclear club may be a non-starter but the journalists' club is a very well-established, thriving concern.

Most of the time one feels rather like a small boy who, unknown to the adults, is carefully listening to the conversation. But occasionally the blasé lack of interest, the knowing tone ("Tom's got them well under control" was one remark heard at the Municipal and General Workers' Union conference), makes one very angry.

Spotting the journalists is a good way of spending the time during a boring or pointless speech. Those well-dressed, well-groomed young men are obviously from The Times and the Manchester Guardian (or The Guardian, as we must now call it). Naturally, the rather less carefully dressed older men are from the popular papers. But where does that rather shabby young man come from?—careful, you're looking in the mirror!

Irrespective of colour, creed or missiles

FOR some time now the well-known London Sunday liberal paper, The Observer, has carried pages of displayed advertisements for high-salaried posts for scientists and technicians.

Graduate chemists, managers, senior production engineers, works managers fill much of these pages, but pride of place usually goes to the gigantic aircraft and missile firms which would appear, judging from the ads, to be devouring an ever-increasing number of men.

It was quite a surprise to find recently amongst all this welter of brains and destruction, an ad. for a secretary of the

Pestalozzi Children's Village Trust, to live in Sussex near where a new International Children's Village has been established.

The Village is similar to the world famous Pestalozzi Village at Trogen in Switzerland, which has been in existence since the war. The new venture, says the ad., is "a pioneer project in international education for needy children irrespective of nationality, colour or creed."

Work this one out

Extract from the 1945 Constitution of the Indonesian Republic: Article 29. The State guarantees the freedom of the people to profess their own religion and Article 30. All citizens are entitled and obliged to participate in the defence of the State.

How to make 'news' and influence people

IT was a very difficult assignment for PN's correspondent in Vienna to cover the recent World Youth Festival—if only because the world's press was determined to throw around serious charges and wallow in propaganda.

So I asked Dr. Francis Rona for any further comments he might have, and some of his replies are very interesting.

Confirming his PN report on incidents, Dr. Rona says that the official Police Report on August 5 stated that no clashes or skirmishes occurred. The report in the News Chronicle on July 27 by Boris ("the police are in a constant state of alert") Kidell, says Dr. Rona bluntly, "not true."

"I raised this matter," he says, "at a press conference. There are more policemen in London at mass meetings than there were in Vienna at Festival demonstrations or performances. Before the large opening march (thousands of participants) there were a few dozen policemen, as I saw them. At the headquarters of the delegations, where accommodation was provided for thousands, one single policeman was on duty."

After referring to "more than exaggerated" reports in the press, Francis Rona concludes that this "has the opposite effect; it gives a justification for alleged 'lies in

enquiry to say that the "Revue Militaire Generale" can be obtained from: Berger-Levrault, 5 rue Auguste-Comte, Paris VI.

The next time the Review drops such a brick we shall write straight there.

Two girls' daydreams

"Many times I thought maybe all people everywhere really belong to each other, maybe they will feel happy and free only when they all become world citizens." Shigeko Nimoto, one of the Hiroshima Maidens in America.

"I still believe that people are really good at heart . . . if I look up into the heavens, I think that it will all come right, and that peace and tranquility will return again." The Diary of Anne Frank.

They objected

ANYONE in France between Paris and the Channel should make a point of visiting the little church at Rosay, about three miles south-west of Lyons-la-Forêt.

Turn right at the entrance and this is what you will read:

"During the 1914-18 war, 180,000 Lebanese people starved to death because they would not bear arms against France."

"The curé of Rosay, as an ordinary soldier, witnessed it for three years."

And General Gourand of the French army confirmed the figures.

Follow the leader

"German troops have often been accused of following their leaders like sheep—a charge that could be levelled against most well-disciplined troops."—The Times' Bonn correspondent, August 27.

NORTH PLANS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT DEMONSTRATION

'Procession of witness' in York

PLANS are going forward for the "Procession of Witness" in York at the opening of Nuclear Disarmament Week on Sept. 12, and briefly announced in Peace News on Aug. 14.

"There will be a silent march through the city from church to church, ending at

Juliana acts over objections to Civil Defence

From HEIN VAN WIJK

IN 1923 Holland got her first and only law on conscientious objection to military service. In those years, wars were chiefly fought by armies. After World War II, wars became totalitarian. No army can now fight a war without the complete assistance of the whole of society. The so-called civil part of warfare is as essential as the military part. In almost all countries this has led to certain forms of conscription for civilians.

Refused to serve

In Holland a complete network of laws and regulations covering this field has been in force for over eight years. Up to this year, this conscription of civilians existed on paper only. Last January however the lack of volunteers led to the beginning of real conscription. First of all army reservists were called into this civilian service. There were lots of protests but practically no serious refusal. There did not exist any provision for exemption of conscientious objectors.

Mayors and Civil Defence officials loudly repeated that this service had nothing to do with war or militarism, but was completely civilian in character. Krijn Buizer, a member of the Dutch Fellowship of Reconciliation, refused to be incorporated into this service which in fact is as much a part of warfare as military service.

He had performed his military duties with a bad conscience, and after a long struggle with himself had decided to follow his inner promptings. Consequently at the beginning of this year he made an application as a conscientious objector. This application is still pending.

A last appeal

After having been called by the mayor

FOR some time now the well-known London Sunday liberal paper, *The Observer*, has carried pages of displayed advertisements for high-salaried posts for scientists and technicians.

Graduate chemists, managers, senior production engineers, works managers fill much of these pages, but pride of place usually goes to the gigantic aircraft and missile firms which would appear, judging from the ads, to be devouring an ever-increasing number of men.

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IT'S BACK TO WORK WE GO

BY THE TIME you are reading this summer holidays will be over for most of us—and we will be getting back to our more normal routine.

Those who came to the Peace Pledge Union Summer Holiday Conference at Pantyfedwen, Borth, had a very enjoyable and, I hope, profitable week. We look forward to having many more next year when we are going to the Mumbles on the Gower Peninsula in Swansea Bay.

The work of the Peace Pledge Union has been going on all the time, but groups of individuals will be getting ready for an even more active autumn and winter. The next few months, with the possibility of Summit Talks and a General Election at home, are full of possibilities.

We must make every effort and take every opportunity to give the full pacifist challenge of total unconditional unilateral disarmament.

I hope your holiday will have given you fresh strength and inspiration to renew your activities for Pacifism. If so, will you start straight away by sending a donation to the PPU HQ Fund?

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary.

Amount required during 1959: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £542.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



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After referring to "more than exaggerated" reports in the press, Francis Rona concludes that this "has the opposite effect; it gives a justification for alleged 'lies in the capitalist press'—and the counter lies in the Communist press may appear more credible.

"The gratifying fact is that the Viennese anti-Communists behaved very well—I also went to their press conference, and they did not mention one single serious incident."

A testimony

"Dr. Hastings Kamusu Banda has been a member of the Committee of the (Anti-Slavery) Society for twelve years. He was known to members of the Committee as a strong advocate of the rights of his people. The idea that he could be implicated in a plot to massacre the Europeans, Asians and moderate Africans of Nyasaland is not one which anyone who knows him can bring himself to believe."—The Anti-Slavery Reporter, June 1959.

Clangers available

REMEMBER the "realistic" article in PN at the end of July, reprinted from a top military review?

It called for the establishment of a secret army to effect coups d'etat, and among some of the bloodthirsty things advocated in this military item were "guile, deception, subversion and treason," and a prescription list for "neutralisation."

PN commented at the time that when this article first appeared in the "Revue Militaire Generale" in 1957, the appropriate office in Whitehall and the publishers in France did not answer requests for a copy.

This comment prompted a reader to try again, and now he has had better luck. The Army Publications Depot in London (Strathville Road, S.W.18) has replied to his

well-disciplined troops."—The Times of Bonn correspondent, August 27.

NORTH PLANS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT DEMONSTRATION 'Procession of witness' in York

PLANS are going forward for the "Procession of Witness" in York at the opening of Nuclear Disarmament Week on Sept. 12, and briefly announced in Peace News on Aug. 14.

"There will be a silent march through the city from church to church, ending at the Minster," the Rev. W. R. G. Sargent, of Hull, told Peace News this week.

In Hull a "Day of Preparation" is planned with a 24-hour vigil of prayer for peace and disarmament in St. Mary's, Lowgate.

Members of all denominations are being asked to attend and take their place at the prayer desks for half-hour periods throughout the day and night from 8 a.m. on Friday, Sept. 11, to 8 a.m. the following morning.

Personal abstinence is being urged on that day and alms will be collected for Inter-Church Aid and Refugee Service.

The CND branches at Bridlington and Withernsea are to hold similar meetings and will support the procession in York.

"By the day of the procession we hope to have a great deal of support all over the North," the Rev. W. R. G. Sargent added.

Student pacifists to contact Freshers PN LENDS A HAND

UNIVERSITY pacifists are making their plans for contacting Freshers when the new university session starts in the autumn.

Peace News will be glad to supply literature, posters and copies of Peace News for free distribution at special rates for this occasion.

All pacifists going up to university are invited to write to us for details of the special Peace News subscription rate for students.

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A last appeal

After having been called by the mayor of his town to be incorporated as a "nood-wachter," he made his objections known and pleaded exemption. His request being refused, he appealed to the Governor of the province. When this appeal was rejected, he sent, at the end of July, a last appeal to the Queen.

In this appeal, the violent and war-like character of Civil Defence, and the obligation of the Government to acknowledge conscientious objection to it was stressed.

Within a fortnight an answer came. A general royal decree of August 14, 1959, provides that registered conscientious objectors cannot be registered for or called into Civil Defence. Everyone who objects to war can now liberate himself from these modern kinds of war-complicity by making an application to the law of conscientious objection. This is a remarkable victory of principles and of common sense.

8 TO NEW READERS

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Where prestige . . .

PRESTIGE, the Oxford Dictionary informs us, is "influence exercised or impression produced by a nation's or institution's or person's reputation." This is clearly a desirable thing to be aimed at, but it has little to do with the significance that is most generally attached to the word today.

In London, for instance, many of the great new office structures are announced as "prestige buildings" and this has nothing to do with the reputation of those who are to occupy them. The fact that they are prestige buildings will be no safeguard against their finding house-room for shady financial undertakings.

Similarly with the prestige of nations. The people most obsessed today with what they call prestige are the Frenchmen grouped round General de Gaulle. Their concern for prestige has nothing to do with the greatnesses of the French spirit that have in the past made so many liberal minds regard France as their second country. The connotation of "prestige" for de Gaulle and his more clamant supporters is to be found in such things as the possession of nuclear bombs and the "winning" of the Algerian war.

We are therefore particularly glad to find that there are more and more influential French voices being raised against General de Gaulle's attitude to "prestige." In a recent issue of *Le Monde*, M. Dominique Halevy pointedly asks how France will have become greater when she has exploded her Hiroshima-type bomb. And this has been followed by a forceful article by "Sirius" (known to be M. Beuve-Mery, the Editor) in which he adds his influence to this question and also points out the political consequence of the attitude of the French Government to the Algerian question.

M. Debré, the Prime Minister, has insisted that the policy to be pursued in Algeria is exclusively a matter for the French; while it is strictly a French affair, however, the retention of Algeria in the Western bloc is necessary to secure an equilibrium of forces in the world. Thus, still according to M. Debré, so far from policy here being a matter for France alone, it requires the completest possible support from the other Powers of the Western bloc.

. . . really lies

WE are not blind to the fact that British policy also is governed largely by similarly spurious ideas as to where prestige lies. It is evident today, however, that

Britain has drawn more prestige from the way in which it co-operated in the liberation of India in 1947 and from the steps it has since taken towards helping the independence of its formerly colonial peoples than it has from its possession of the A-bomb and the H-bomb.

Similarly, if France could move to a generous co-operation in setting a free Algeria beside a free Morocco and a free Tunisia, it would do a great deal more to restore itself in the eyes of those who have admired and respected the French spirit than it will by its childish evil gesture in letting off its Sahara bomb.

We do not say, of course, that it is possible for de Gaulle to do this. The attitude of the army probably stands in the way; and the attitude of the army represents an important manifestation of the sick soul of France. Nevertheless, should it be possible for the French people to recover their spiritual health, it is in this way that they will act.

Dulles' soul marches on

THE British Press presents the Laos situation as entirely the responsibility of the Communists (backed by China). If, however, one reads between the lines of the newspaper reports, a rather different picture emerges.

The Communist Powers have asked that the International Commission which was set up to supervise the Geneva agreement of 1954, and which was suspended *sine die* last year, should be reconvened to investigate the position. Since there is no clear evidence as to where responsibility for the present disturbance lies, this would seem a reasonable request.

But the British Government, which with the Soviet Government was co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, has refused to recall the Commission. It says that an investigation by the Commission would be a breach of Laos' sovereignty. Since such an investigation is allowed for by the Geneva agreement, this is a curious and unconvincing argument; it amounts to a unilateral suspension of the treaty by Britain. Ironically, at the same time as Mr. Selwyn Lloyd is maintaining this position, he is also arguing against the Soviet Government's intention to defy its treaty commitments and to take unilateral action over Berlin.

It seems clear that the British are taking this position in response to American pressure. The Americans have never accepted the 1954 Geneva agreement. After one week at the Conference Mr. Dulles left, never to return. And the Americans were never signatories to the agreement, though they did promise to abide by it. In fact, Mr. Dulles' response to the agreement was to organise the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, and to arm Laos in defence of international agreements.

Laos borders on China to the North, so it is not surprising that the Chinese are becoming very restive about the build-up of an armed American régime—particularly when this is in defiance of an international agreement. Nor is it surprising that in these circumstances the Americans are not keen to have an investigating committee in Laos.

In the New York Times last week Mr. Joseph Alsop warned that the Laos situation may become as dangerous as the Quemoy-Matsu crisis of last year. Mr. Dulles may be dead, but, aided by the British Government, his soul goes marching on.

Eisenhower in Europe

SINCE no details have been released of the discussions which President Eisenhower has been having in the last few days in Bonn, London and Paris, one is left with the impression that the Top People do not consider such considerations suitable matter for thought by lesser mortals.

The observer, therefore, having wearied of reading in the press what the President ate for breakfast, has been left to form his conclusions from other sources; and he will have noticed a few significant points. There were the armed US secret service men (not the FBI) who surrounded the President wherever he went, making the place look like a police state. There were also the page or two of notes lying on the table during the famous "spontaneous" TV discussion between Eisenhower and Macmillan in London on Monday.

People not completely carried away by all the hullabaloo of frantic welcomes might well have wondered what was in the minds of the thousands of people who waited hours to cheer the Heads of State who have developed policies that could wipe us all out. This adulation of the spokesmen for massive insanity is one of the most frightening aspects of our times.

There is no doubt that the President's trip to Bonn has greatly strengthened the position of Dr. Adenauer, especially as the American had no criticism for the Chancellor's inflexibility or the policies advocated by the extremists.

The situation in Paris appears even more serious, because immediately before the President's visit there has been the demand by Prime Minister Debré for the "total and unquestioning" support of France in Algeria, and repeated statements by President de Gaulle in Algeria that the "pacification" of the country would have to take place *before* any settlement could be made. These were not only reassurances to the army and the ultras in Algeria, but also a challenge to Washington. As we go to press we fear that President Eisenhower will make no unequivocal statement on Algeria.

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LETTERS

'Inside the Left'

IN his review of Tribune 21 (Peace News, August 21, 1959) Alan Lovell has, it seems to me, wrongly placed the emphasis in his account of Marxism. "Once you had gained control," he writes, "of a country or an industry, all other things were added unto you." I doubt whether many Marxists would subscribe to this. The emphasis, as Michael Foot points out in the passage quoted by Mr. Lovell, is rather on ownership, which, whether it be the ownership of a one-man business or of a factory employing thousands of workers, always brings its problems of management. In the Soviet Union significant and fruitful experiments are being made in worker participation in management. Neither capitalism nor socialism is static, and in both there will be developments and changes.

—Mr. Lovell's statement that "Nationalisation in both these countries (Britain and the Soviet Union) has had little effect on the working lives of people," seems scarcely true of either country. In Britain, where nationalisation of some undertakings within a capitalist framework has meant the conversion of company stock into government bonds, the general condition of the people is better than it has been for many centuries. In the Soviet Union, where nationalisation has transferred land and industry to public ownership, with profits (barring some small amounts of fixed interest) flowing into public revenue, development and the enlarging and widening, through wages, of purchasing power, the lives of the people have been transformed for the better.

British and Australian Labour Parties and trade unions are involved in similar difficulties. In addition to the normal difficulties of radical parties in which, because they are exploring new and as yet untried

ways, there are bound to be differences of view as to the best next step, they are trying to move along as one party a progressive Left wing and a Right more conservative than the Tories. How shall they gain and retain the numbers to enable them to give effect to their progressive, and peace-making, domestic and foreign policies? My own view is that Labour should proclaim aloud and unequivocally these policies, and let who will support them, even though it will mean the defection of many Labour conservatives. This has, to some extent, occurred in Australia, where, in Dr. Evatt, Labour has a leader of outstanding intellectual quality.

It is easy to be destructively critical and impatient—and we haven't much time to be patient—but much more is demanded of pacifists. We have to search deeply for ways in which we can help the progressive sections of the Labour and Trade Union movements to fulfil their aims.—E. E. V. COLLOCOTT, Sydney, N.S.W., Australia.

Protest March

IN Sunday's Protest March against the coming French H-bomb tests in the Sahara it was very pleasing to see so many young people participating. Some, however, were extremely vociferous on the march, and I would like to express an opinion on this.

It seems to me that there are two aspects to a public demonstration. One is personal, simply to publicly demonstrate one's own stand—which, in a way, means to demonstrate to oneself—to objectivise one's attitude. The other aspect is social—to hope that the demonstration in which one is participating will help to influence other thinking people who are still not committed—and, strange as it may seem, there are still millions of the latter.

Now I would question most strongly whether the emotional or pseudo-emotional, yelling of slogans, or mind-benumbing spasms of a repeated chant, do anything to forward the *social* aspect of the demonstration to influence others not yet committed. I doubt it. The banners and slogan boards on a march say all that needs to be said in a quiet, dignified, telling manner. The yelling and chanting—and there were even occasional attempts at singing—gave a jarring air of levity which, to my mind, was strangely out of keeping with the purpose of the protest.

That those who took part in the vocalising obtained great *personal* satisfaction from it goes without saying. Since the majority on the march did not take part in yelling, I think it safe to assume that they did not approve of that activity. It can, of course, be very trying to individuals (as I can bear witness to by personal experience) to have a yellor bawling right behind them.

Yet since it must be assumed that the yellers are sincere, that they have the high spirits of youth, etc., it would be wrong in fettering freedom of expression to ban shouting on similar marches, even if such a ban could be made effective. However, I would suggest that the leaders and officials of such marches make it known (if they think so, that is) that individual or group shouting detracts from the social value of the march, when it would be found that most would co-operate.

But there would be some who would not—or who would only do so under protest. For them I would suggest that there be a special Young Yellers Section, which would follow a little way behind the main body.—J. B. DANSER, 67 Lewis Rd., Sidcup, Kent.

'Children of Hiroshima'

WE are sure you will be interested to know that we are playing the Japanese peace film "Children of Hiroshima" at this cinema on September 13 for 7 days.

Playing with "Children of Hiroshima" will be "The Picasso Mystery."

Leytonstone is very easily reached by road or by Underground (Central Line), and we hope it may be possible to get block bookings by organisations over a quite wide area. We allow 10 per cent discount on such bookings for 20 or over.

We shall be pleased to give any further information you may require.—MSLATER, Manager, State Cinema, High Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11.

Polebrook

IN PN last week, John Lynes suggested that the Direct Action Committee and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament should repair Polebrook church rather than support the rally at the missile site. Surely the work camp caters for the former, DAC and CND for the latter. Both jobs need doing and many of us support and take part in both activities.

I was immensely encouraged to hear local trade union branch leaders speak out so forthrightly against the missile sites. The Direct Action Committee have done a wonderful job and need far more support than they have had so far.—ROGER HOLMAN, Seventh Home, St. Lawrence Avenue, Tunbridge Wells.

The photograph of Sir Tom Williamson appeared in Peace News last week by courtesy of the Daily Herald.

Who makes Labour policy?

Sybil Morrison's column

TWENTY YEARS ON

"WHAT do lavatory attendants know about international affairs?" A Labour Member of the House of Commons is reported to have asked this question with some bitterness in June, after the conference of the National Union of Municipal and General Workers had voted for the unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons by Britain.

Now that the lavatory attendants and other general workers organised with them have endorsed the policy decided by the Labour Party caucus, this Parliamentary spokesman for social democracy is possibly taking a more favourable view of their political competence.

The ability of the Executive of the NUM & GW to reverse, by a special conference with special rules, the decision previously taken by the union will, of course, settle the decisions to be taken at the forthcoming Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference. The Labour decision will be in favour of the attitude to H-bomb policy that is shared by the leaderships of the Conservative and Labour Parties, expressed in the document issued last June by the caucus, "Disarmament and Nuclear War: the Next Step"—the "next step" being the non-nuclear club proposal, which is as phoney as the contrivances by means of which Sir Tom Williamson brought his Union to its right-about-face.

Glimpse of truth

Labour Party policy on nuclear arms in the General Election is therefore as good as settled. It will present no significant difference from that of the Conservative Party, and once again the views of those who are opposed to British participation in the preparations for global suicide will be unrepresented in Parliament.

Although the way in which the main political issue of the day will be withheld from the electors may now be taken as settled, the position of the trade unions in the formulation of Labour Party policy is likely to come in for more serious consideration than hitherto.

In Peace News last week Alan Lovell told of the damage the Municipal and General Workers' special conference will have done to British democracy and the Trade Union movement. It is true that Sir Tom Williamson's operations in this matter present the observer with a particularly

By 'NECTAIRE'

presume to have views on matters of policy that will govern his future and that of his children (assuming they are to have a future) may in his chagrin have expressed himself more crudely than is usual; nevertheless, he was in fact stating more bluntly than is tactful the basic assumption that governs the formulation of Labour Party policy.

It is always taken for granted, in fact, that Labour policy shall be settled by the central caucus, and this is what so far has inevitably happened. On the question of the H-bomb, for instance, the views of the politically active members of the Party are wholly against the views of the Executive. At the last two conferences the votes of the Constituency Parties were overwhelmingly in favour of unilateral renunciation of the H-bomb by Britain. These were of course outvoted by the representatives of the trade unions, and there could be no objection to this on democratic grounds if these latter votes were based on the declared views of the representatives they represented.

The fact is that they did nothing of the sort. It is possible that there are some other unions than the two general workers' unions that have reached decisions on the question of the H-bomb after serious and

adequate discussion, but I very much doubt it.

Generally speaking, the trade unions do not concern themselves at their conferences with political issues that do not have a direct bearing on the industries with which they are concerned. They have not, in fact, the time to do so.

Turning point

The consequence is that their delegations at the Labour Party Conference are left to themselves to decide how their votes shall be cast on all major political matters, and a dominant consideration in their minds is to do what the central caucus wants for the sake of Party unity. The fact that the body of the Municipal and General Workers' Conference, unguided by the platform, had reached a decision broke into this normal practice. Hence it became necessary that it should be reversed.

This piece of gerrymandering may bring the Labour Party's methods of policy making under the close scrutiny of those who are concerned about democratic practice. Should this happen, the conclusion to Alan Lovell's article last week may prove to have been too pessimistic, and Sir Tom's special conference may mark a turning-point heralding an effort to bring the operations of genuine democracy into the British Labour movement.

HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI REPORTS FROM BERLIN

German reservists protest

THE West German Minister of Defence seems to have had a bad idea. He tried to call up for the army, for a few weeks of military exercises, the men born in 1922. They just won't go!

Out of 650 men at Offenbach there were 104 conscientious objectors. At Wetzlar 300 sent a furious telegram of protest to the Minister of Defence. They declared that their experience in the war, as PoWs, and in the years following the war, made it impossible for them to do any kind of military service.

At Dietzenbach all attended a meeting of the section of the War Resisters' International.

At Konstanz 100 men (out of 240) invaded the recruiting office and protested

are no longer valid according to international law. But the men retorted that the Minister himself always insists that the Russians won't respect international law, so what now? What a man has signed, they said, he has to keep to, no matter what international law says. Others recalled that they had been discriminated against in the years immediately after the war by those who now mean to be their allies in NATO.

One man who had been called up sent instead the crutches with which he had come back from the last war.

It doesn't seem quite so easy to re-educate a nation twice—first against militarism, then once again the other way. Some people have a better memory than their military bosses think.

Mr. Strauss seems willing to retreat a little. He now declares that only very few

All ventures into space are founded on military programmes . . . just a few rockets are designed for peaceful purposes but they are rare. —Daily Telegraph, Aug. 31,

IT is twenty years since the Second World War started and fourteen since it ended, fourteen years, not of peaceful progress, but of strenuous pursuit of the means for terrible and total destruction; not of the making and signing of peace treaties, but of military alliances; not of experimenting in and developing nuclear energy for the good of mankind, but of testing nuclear weapons for mankind's annihilation.

The scientific inventions which may eventually make possible man's exploration into the unknown universe of space, have been used for purposes designed, if they should ever be used, to utterly destroy the planet from which they have emanated.

On that 3rd September twenty years ago, when the sound of the first warning sirens fell menacingly on our unaccustomed and terrified ears, the dread in our hearts of a new type of warfare from the air filled our imagination. There had been Guernica; that horrible instance of the total destruction of an undefended town and thousands of its innocent inhabitants had warned us of our approaching fate, but even so the full horrors and tragedies of wholesale bombing of towns and cities had not been fully imagined.

★

The vulnerability and helplessness of the ordinary human being when the inhuman scream of the falling bombs impinged upon the ears and nerves could only be suffered, not countered. Above, in the sky, there were, it was known, fighter pilots risking their lives to bring down the bombing aeroplanes, but there was little comfort in that knowledge for the ordinary citizen cowering in his shelter or working in ARP squads since, if a bomber crashed, the bombs would explode just the same, and death and disaster would be there where it fell.

Under the rubble and the ruins there would be those whose only claim to fame lay in the laconic statement that "loss of life was negligible." That there is no such thing as a "negligible" life; that to every-one life is important and dear, and to every-one there are other lives important and

difference from that of the Conservative Party, and once again the views of those who are opposed to British participation in the preparations for global suicide will be unrepresented in Parliament.

Although the way in which the main political issue of the day will be withheld from the electors may now be taken as settled, the position of the trade unions in the formulation of Labour Party policy is likely to come in for more serious consideration than hitherto.

In Peace News last week Alan Lovell told of the damage the Municipal and General Workers' special conference will have done to British democracy and the Trade Union movement. It is true that Sir Tom Williamson's operations in this matter present the observer with a particularly unedifying spectacle, but it is very probable that the glimpse they have afforded of the truth regarding the relationship of the unions to Labour Party democracy will lead to a concentration of attention on the methods by which the British variant of "social democracy" reaches its decisions.

The Labour MP who took for granted that the mere lavatory attendant should not

difference seems to have had a bad idea. He tried to call up for the army, for a few weeks of military exercises, the men born in 1922. They just won't go!

Out of 650 men at Offenbach there were 104 conscientious objectors. At Wetzlar 300 sent a furious telegram of protest to the Minister of Defence. They declared that their experience in the war, as PoWs, and in the years following the war, made it impossible for them to do any kind of military service.

At Dietzenbach all attended a meeting of the section of the War Resisters' International.

At Konstanz 100 men (out of 240) invaded the recruiting office and protested vigorously, while the others did not appear. They said that as PoWs of the Russians or the Americans, each of them had had to sign, as a condition of going home, a declaration never to touch any weapons again.

Defence Minister Strauss published a note in the press saying that such undertakings

national law. But the men retorted that the Minister himself always insists that the Russians won't respect international law, so what now? What a man has signed, they said, he has to keep to, no matter what international law says. Others recalled that they had been discriminated against in the years immediately after the war by those who now mean to be their allies in NATO.

One man who had been called up sent instead the crutches with which he had come back from the last war.

It doesn't seem quite so easy to re-educate a nation twice—first against militarism, then once again the other way. Some people have a better memory than their military bosses think.

Mr. Strauss seems willing to retreat a little. He now declares that only very few of those born in 1922 would actually be called up. Why, then, all this humbug? It looks as if the stubborn resistance of the men has won a victory.

Jailed for entering H-test area

DR. EARLE REYNOLDS was last week jailed for six months on appeal against a two-year sentence for deliberately entering the US nuclear testing area in the Pacific.

Skipper of the Phoenix of Hiroshima, Dr. Reynolds entered the area on July 1 last year as a protest against nuclear experiments, and as an attempt to test the legality of the Atomic Energy Commission's action in sealing off 390,000 square miles of open ocean.

Earle Reynolds, who had been on bail, is now in Honolulu prison, where members of the Golden Rule were jailed last year after their similar voyage.

A Phoenix Defence Fund (PO Box 5199, Honolulu, Hawaii) is asking Americans to meet the high cost of the appeal.

\$170,000 for Tibetan refugees

An American Emergency Committee for Tibetan refugees has been incorporated in New York under the chairmanship of Lowell Thomas. It has sent 170,000 dollars to the non-official Central Relief Committee in India and secured \$750,000 worth of drugs.

ordinary human being when the inhuman scream of the falling bombs impinged upon the ears and nerves could only be suffered, not countered. Above, in the sky, there were, it was known, fighter pilots risking their lives to bring down the bombing aeroplanes, but there was little comfort in that knowledge for the ordinary citizen cowering in his shelter or working in ARP squads since, if a bomber crashed, the bombs would explode just the same, and death and disaster would be there where it fell.

Under the rubble and the ruins there would be those whose only claim to fame lay in the laconic statement that "loss of life was negligible." That there is no such thing as a "negligible" life; that to every-one life is important and dear, and to every-one there are other lives important and dear, is not a subject for discussion during war, for it is only in war that such terms are used.

Because the truth is too terrible, the panic and dismay too close to the surface, so the facts must be played down, and the meaningless words must be somehow embroidered to give comfort.

And now, twenty years later, after all the suffering and the pain, the bereavement and the grief, the misery and the mental torment, there is still no "promised land"; in spite of the war to end tyranny, the tyranny of war itself has cheated the human race of its hoped for "peace and freedom"; it is faced instead with an even more appalling kind of bombing than the high explosives of 1939.

The Second World War struck the nations just twenty-five years after the beginning of the "war to end all wars"; during the six years of that second holocaust the seeds of the third world war were sown; the A-bomb gave birth to the H-bomb, and the "cold war" was launched.

There is no realistic answer to this obvious insanity except the pacifist answer; it is patently clear that one war has grown out of another, and that the rockets of today are the inevitable successors to the high explosive bombs of yesterday.

It has been positively proved that freedom from tyranny is not to be won upon the battlefields, and that the tyranny of war is the greatest and worst tyranny of all. It is only in the heart of man that this tyranny will be overcome and conquered, for it is only when men throw off their slavish acceptance of total death as a policy for life that war will be abolished.

This is the war to which pacifists are committed; the war against war; the final fight for peace.

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ALL over Great Britain intensive preparations for "Let Britain Lead" week are nearing completion. We urge every reader to grasp this opportunity of challenging public conscience. "Principles before Politics" declares a new Peace News poster "Nuclear Disarmament, Britain must lead" challenges another of the selection freely available for display in your window and on marches.

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again as usual, will be full of special features for sale throughout the week.

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TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOCIETY—VI

Family Service Units

By MARGARET TINS

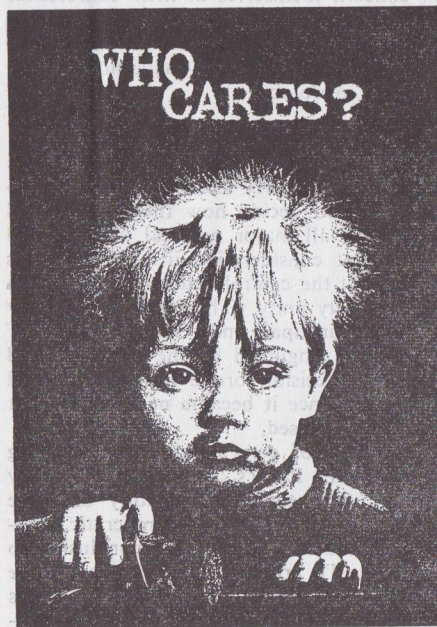
THERE is perhaps no better example of the pacifist permeation of society than the development of the Family Service Units.

Family Service Units, now a nationally recognised organisation with royal patronage and 13 local centres, had its humble beginnings late in 1940 when a number of conscientious objectors came together to discover what service they could give to the community when so many channels of work were closed to them. The intensive air-raids of that period over London and other large cities offered the opportunity; and Pacifist Service Units provided the answer.

The first Units, established in London, Liverpool and Manchester, were on a semi-voluntary basis and workers received no payment beyond maintenance and pocket-money. The work of the Units grew out of the situation, starting in air-raid shelters and rest centres and leading from there to the unearthing of the "problem family," who seemed incapable of being helped by any of the official agencies. Evacuation and the growing housing shortage increased the number of these families, who were frequently regarded as "hopeless" by the exasperated authorities; and who on their side tended to view all authority with resentment and suspicion.

No condemnation

In these circumstances, the approach of the PSU workers—friendly, practical and devoid of moral condemnation—made a unique and valuable contribution. Starting with the performances of simple household tasks, often of the most menial and squalid kind, the workers gradually won the trust of their families and, by the exercise of continuous and patient friendliness, were able to discover the underlying causes of their problems and eventually contact the social agency which could best help them. In



their turn, the authorities gradually began to refer families to the Units in cases where all other agencies had failed.

This reciprocal activity has continued to develop since the war, and it is still a vital function of the Family Service Units to work with both sides and thereby obtain a more fruitful inter-action between them.

Most of the early members of the Pacifist Service Units were "amateurs" with no previous experience or training in social work. The approach of the workers stemmed from their pacifist philosophy, and out of this initial approach was developed the skill and technique which had been proved in practice to work best. One of these workers was David Jones, the present National Secretary of FSU, who started the first Family Service Unit, as such, at Paddington in 1948. He regarded, and still regards, this work as "applied pacifism," and he sees FSU not merely as another social service, but as the expression of a whole attitude to people and to life. Its basis is "the supreme worth of the individual, in

workers. In many cases the Units receive grants from local authorities, but about half of the total income is still obtained from voluntary contributions, and the work could not continue without this support. It is, however, shortage of staff of the right calibre, rather than lack of money, that hampers further expansion, and the demand for workers far exceeds the supply.

With the advent of the Welfare State it might be thought that the need for Family Service Units has diminished, but David Jones points out that the welfare state is geared to the normal needs of the community, whilst the problem families are below the general level and cannot make use of the services provided. What makes a problem family? Environment is important; a degree of ill-health, both mental and physical, is very common; the relation between the parents may frequently aggravate the personal difficulties of each, or even cause them. But FSU emphasises that it is the combination of factors that must be considered, rather than any one of them in isolation: the problem family arises out of an inter-action of character and circumstances.

It is this approach of FSU to the whole "human condition" that makes it still a unique service of its kind. Some local authorities are copying this technique by the appointment of "special workers" to co-ordinate the various social services, and the Youngusband Report on the Training of Social Workers recommended a "family service" within the local authority.

Now accepted

If the contribution of FSU now seems less radical than it was, says David Jones, this is not because its approach has been watered down but rather that it has been accepted by society. The change of attitude in recent years, both on the part of the authorities and the community at large, has been little short of revolutionary. Whereas in its early days PSU was regarded as wildly impractical, and indeed irresponsible, in its approach, it is now generally accepted that those who appear to be least deserving of help are

CONFERENCE ON NON-VIOLENCE IN CANADA

THE Doukhobor Society of Canada are proceeding with plans for a Conference of Peace through Non-violence, to be held in the main ballroom of the Bessborough Hotel in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, on December 29 and 30.

The Doukhobors, the pacifist religious sect who left Russia in Czarist times because of their opposition to militarism, jointly sponsored a successful conference at Vancouver last year with the Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Canadian Friends Service Committee (Quakers).

Invitations are going to these two bodies to send representatives to this year's conference. Other religious groups being invited are the Unitarians of Western Canada, the Mennonite groups of Western Canada, and the Doukhobors' "spiritual cousins," the Molokans of California.

They are also hoping to establish some contact with the members of the Society of Brothers (the Hutterites).

The very active group of intellectuals which form the Saskatoon Committee for Nuclear Disarmament will also be taking part in the conference.

Public opinion

Peter S. Bludoff, Executive Secretary of the Doukhobor Society, commenting on the Conference plans, told Peace News:

"We have a feeling that the time for holding such a conference in Saskatchewan is appropriate. Last June the Government of Saskatchewan dedicated a monument to the Doukhobor pioneers who settled in Northern Saskatchewan. It was quite a ceremonial affair. Three TV stations, two daily, and one weekly newspapers gave us plenty of friendly publicity. Up till now a group of non-conformists in British Columbia, something like your IRA, made all the headlines for the Doukhobors. Actually now the public opinion has so changed in our favour that we are having difficulty in adapting ourselves to it."

The Bessborough Hotel is considered the best conference centre in Western Canada, and the Society are enjoying the full co-operation of the management in making

In these circumstances, the approach of the PSU workers—friendly, practical and devoid of moral condemnation—made a unique and valuable contribution. Starting with the performances of simple household tasks, often of the most menial and squalid kind, the workers gradually won the trust of their families and, by the exercise of continuous and patient friendliness, were able to discover the underlying causes of their problems and eventually contact the social agency which could best help them. In



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Most of the early members of the Pacifist Service Units were "amateurs" with no previous experience or training in social work. The approach of the workers stemmed from their pacifist philosophy, and out of this initial approach was developed the skill and technique which had been proved in practice to work best. One of these workers was David Jones, the present National Secretary of FSU, who started the first Family Service Unit, as such, at Paddington in 1948. He regarded, and still regards, this work as "applied pacifism," and he sees FSU not merely as another social service, but as the expression of a whole attitude to people and to life. Its basis is "the supreme worth of the individual, in places where it has been most difficult to find, or previously ignored."

The early spirit of the PSU has been carried over into FSU, due to a continuity in personnel and the small size of the organisation. Contact is maintained between the centres by inter-change of staff, regular meetings of Unit organisers and an annual study conference of all

and the Anglican Report on the Training of Social Workers recommended a "family service" within the local authority.

Now accepted

If the contribution of FSU now seems less radical than it was, says David Jones, this is not because its approach has been watered down but rather that it has been accepted by society. The change of attitude in recent years, both on the part of the authorities and the community at large, has been little short of revolutionary. Whereas in its early days PSU was regarded as wildly impractical, and indeed irresponsible, in its approach, it is now generally accepted that those who appear to be least deserving of help are those who need it most; and that the kind of help most needed is friendship and understanding.

The acceptance of this principle need not be confined to "problem families." It may be that out of the pioneering efforts of wartime pacifists will grow a wider and more human understanding of the world problems that threaten peace.

Their first victory brings a challenge

THE Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport is asking members of sports clubs to draw the attention of their clubs to an equipment drive which the Campaign is launching.

As a result of international pressure organised by the Campaign, the South African Olympic Association has given an undertaking to include non-white sportsmen in future teams if they are good enough.

"This represents a complete reversal of the trend to more and more brutal apartheid," the Secretary, Anthony Steel, told Peace News this week.

"Now that the principle of selection by merit and not colour has been conceded, every effort must be made to implement the principle and so provide a precedent which can be extended to other fields.

Passports also

"The South African government has also now promised not to withhold passports from non-White athletes so chosen.

"Since, though, all the sports associations recognised by the South African Olympic Association exclude non-European members as strictly as ever, it means that only white enthusiasts have access to the best tracks, pitches and equipment. To make up this handicap as far as possible the

Campaign hopes to collect sports tackle in Gt. Britain and send it out to South Africa for distribution amongst the non-European clubs.

"It is very urgent that African, Indian and coloured sportsmen are able to be included in the South African team, in large numbers."

The address of the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport is 4 Erskine Hill, London, N.W.11. President of the Campaign is the Archbishop of Cape Town and it has supporters among MPs in the Labour, Conservative and Liberal parties.

Ronald Segal

● FROM PAGE TWO

That bitter attack, by a leading Minister of State, came on June 18, a week after Segal had been arrested and had his passport confiscated. Five weeks later he was banned as a Communist.

It might be superfluous to say so, but Ronald Segal is no Communist. Neither is the periodical he edits.

But in South Africa these are purely academic points. "Trouble-maker," "critic," "Communist"—they're all the same!

holding such a conference in Saskatchewan is appropriate. Last June the Government of Saskatchewan dedicated a monument to the Doukhobor pioneers who settled in Northern Saskatchewan. It was quite a ceremonial affair. Three TV stations, two daily, and one weekly newspapers gave us plenty of friendly publicity. Up till now a group of non-conformists in British Columbia, something like your IRA, made all the headlines for the Doukhobors. Actually now the public opinion has so changed in our favour that we are having difficulty in adapting ourselves to it."

The Bessborough Hotel is considered the best conference centre in Western Canada, and the Society are enjoying the full co-operation of the management in making their plans. The need to hold the Conference in a city centre is very necessary in view of the severe winter conditions in Western Canada. The Bessborough Hotel is easily accessible to travellers by road and rail.

Briefly

FATHER PRINCE, whose review of "Morals and Missiles" appeared in Peace News last week, has died. A priest of the Plymouth diocese, he had retired for some time through illness. He was virtually blind. A vigorous campaigner through the written word, his passing will be a great loss to the Catholic pacifist movement in Britain.

Radio-active fall-out in the atmosphere over Delhi increased in the first three months of this year, following nuclear tests last autumn, the Indian Atomic Energy Establishment reports.

Arms production in Indian ordnance factories has increased 45 per cent in the last three years. In 1958-59 ordnance factories produced materials worth £15,750,000, compared with £10,650,000 in 1956-57, the Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, told the second Indian Defence Production conference which started in New Delhi on August 27.

A Zurich conscientious objector was sentenced to six months' jail (and costs) by the Swiss Military Tribunal on August 19. He had just taken part in an international work camp building a road.

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TWO positive gains may be initiated by the Eisenhower-Khrushchov talks. "Initiated," because one cannot expect concrete results to come from one meeting.

The Cold War has eaten into the fabric of the whole world. It has debased the economic pattern of America, Russia, Britain and all industrialised countries; it has disrupted the political pattern of Central Europe, the Middle East, South East Asia and the Far East; it has deformed the political and economic advance of the emerging nations.

This chaos cannot be unravelled by one conversation.

The two gains for which we can hope are: (1) an easing of tension, leading to a gradual withdrawal of military pressures on strategic areas, and (2) considerable disarmament.

Three weeks ago I discussed some of the effects of these changes on Africa and Asia and the underdeveloped territories of the earth. The general conclusion was that whilst American and Russian military pressures might be lessened, their economic and political rivalry would increase.

Competing for influence

I was interested to see that The Times in its editorial on August 27 ended a long review of the position by warning the West that it would have to face this prospect. The Times wrote:

"The only sure thing is that, if any progress were made, the West would have to prepare and brace itself to counter heavier political and economic rivalry among the under-developed and uncommitted countries. There could be no rest, even if the direct military dangers were mercifully made less acute."

This rivalry will persist so long as Communism and capitalism compete for influence in the world. The West has given Africa and Asia the example of political democracy. Russia has given Africa and Asia the example of a socialised economy.

Democratic socialists are striving to achieve a synthesis which would combine political and personal freedoms with a co-operatively directed economy; the fact that

Will it be economic rivalry?

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

market. The values of shares in the arms industry, in missile and aircraft production, and in electronic firms fell precipitately.

America spends £15,000,000,000 annually in arms manufacture.

It is estimated that one in three of its industrial workers are employed, directly or indirectly, in war preparations. Any substantial cut in the "defence" programme, if no alternative production is provided, would throw millions out of work.

In Britain we spend £1,500,000,000 annually on "defence." That is one-tenth of the American expenditure, but, bearing in mind our resources, population and economic instability, any serious reduction without an alternative would also have a disastrous effect on employment.

Of course, both America and Britain could well divert much of their armament expenditure to lifting the standards of life of their peoples.

Despite America's wealth, hundreds of thousands of its citizens exist in appalling housing conditions and its unskilled workers, especially the Negroes, often live in dire poverty. In Britain we shall need to spend millions more pounds on housing, health, schools, hospitals, roads, and recreational and cultural expansion if the Labour Party's election programme is to be fulfilled.

Meeting the crisis

But the boldest social expenditure will not meet the economic crisis which large-scale disarmament would bring to America and Britain. Arms production mostly makes demands in the first instance on the engineering industry. Part of this industry

ing, reaping and harvesting machines. There is limitless territory for development, calling for all the capital goods which American and British industry could provide for a generation.

In the event of disarmament, the need for the maintenance of their domestic economies will combine with the incentive of rivalry with Soviet Russia to stimulate the West to invest on an unprecedented scale in the development of the uncommitted continents.

Help but not bribes

The Labour Party in Britain has been regarded as reckless because it has pledged one per cent of our national income to aid under-developed territories. That would amount to £160,000,000 a year compared with the £1,500,000,000 we now spend on "defence." In circumstances of disarmament that amount would be quite inadequate to keep our engineering industry in production. It would certainly be inadequate to compete with Russian and American efforts to influence Africa and Asia.

The peoples of these continents are clearly vitally concerned in the success of the American-Russian talks.

It will be of inestimable benefit to them and to the whole world if expenditure on arms is transferred to constructive purposes.

But two hopes I cherish. First, that the peoples of Africa will say both to Russia and the West that whilst their economic co-operation will be welcome it will not be accepted as a bribe. Africa and Asia are asserting their independence. That independence must become economic as well as



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Write to: Secretary, York CND, 74 Almsford Road, York
with offers of help or for more details.

to prepare and brace themselves to counter heavier political and economic rivalry among the under-developed and uncommitted countries. There could be no rest, even if the direct military dangers were mercifully made less acute."

This rivalry will persist so long as Communism and capitalism compete for influence in the world. The West has given Africa and Asia the example of political democracy. Russia has given Africa and Asia the example of a socialised economy.

Democratic socialists are striving to achieve a synthesis which would combine political and personal freedoms with a co-operatively directed economy; the fact that so many of the major movements in Africa and Asia share this aim gives great hope for the future. But until the principle of democratic socialism is accepted, capitalism will seek new spheres to exploit, Communism will seek to extend the Soviet system.

There is a second reason why the West particularly will direct its economic aspirations towards Africa and Asia. If considerable disarmament takes place, the economies of America and Britain, now largely geared to arms manufacture, will be severely undermined, *unless an alternative demand for production is found.*

We have seen how the mere thought of the Eisenhower-Khrushchov conversations led to a panic slump on the New York stock

exchange, especially the Negroes, often live in poverty. In Britain we shall need to spend millions more pounds on housing, health, schools, hospitals, roads, and recreational and cultural expansion if the Labour Party's election programme is to be fulfilled.

Meeting the crisis

But the boldest social expenditure will not meet the economic crisis which large-scale disarmament would bring to America and Britain. Arms production mostly makes demands in the first instance on the engineering industry. Part of this industry could be diverted to meet domestic requirements; but the demand would not be nearly enough to keep busy the vast engineering plant now engaged on armaments.

The one demand which could keep the factory wheels turning in the event of disarmament would be the satisfaction of the needs of Africa, Asia and the under-developed territories.

Their first requirements are exactly the articles which the engineering industry could produce. They need machinery to construct power stations, irrigation projects, dams, railways, roads and docks, and to open and operate mines and to establish industrial plants; they want bull-dozers, tractors, sow-

ers, especially the Negroes, often live in poverty. In Britain we shall need to spend millions more pounds on housing, health, schools, hospitals, roads, and recreational and cultural expansion if the Labour Party's election programme is to be fulfilled.

The peoples of these continents are clearly vitally concerned in the success of the American-Russian talks.

It will be of inestimable benefit to them and to the whole world if expenditure on arms is transferred to constructive purposes.

But two hopes I cherish. First, that the peoples of Africa will say both to Russia and the West that whilst their economic co-operation will be welcome it will not be accepted as a bribe. Africa and Asia are asserting their independence. That independence must become economic as well as political. Africa and Asia must be free to decide their own forms of life without any impositions from outside.

The second hope I dare to express is that economic cooperation shall steadily pass to the control of an international authority rather than to the partisan direction of the competing West and East. America and Russia, if they wish to prove their sincerity for peace, should offer to make their contribution to world development, not through national channels with a political purpose, but through the United Nations acting only on the principle of need.

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RUGBY: 7.30 p.m. 57 Clifton Rd. Tape recordings of speeches at the Borth Conference. PPU.

SOUTHGATE: Bourne Methodist Ch. Hall, near Southgate tube. Prof. Rotblat, Victor Gollancz, Mervyn Jones. Chair: Rev. Keith Fisher. Film of 1959 Aldermaston March. CND.

Saturday, September 12

LONDON, S.E.13: 3 p.m.-6.30 p.m. St. Mark's Vicarage, Clarendon Rise. Garden Party. FoR.

WOOD GREEN: 4 p.m. Open air mtg. at Spouters' Corner. John Baird, MP. Rev. Stanley Evans, Sheila Jones, Mr. Weaver. CND.

WOOD GREEN: 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Wood Green Cong. Hall, near Wood Green tube stn. Exhibition "The Chance of your Life." CND.

Sunday, September 13

LONDON, W.1: 3 p.m. Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. Stuart Morris. PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON: 2.30 p.m. Marlands Hall, Civic Centre. Dr. Antoinette Pirie, Diana Collins, Cllr. E. F. G. Haig, John Braine. CND.

Sunday, September 13—Sunday, September 20
IPSWICH: National CND Week. Mass Mtg. 1 p.m. Co-op Hall, Sept. 17. Colchester: Rally Sept. 19.

Sunday, September 13—Saturday, September 19
LONDON, E.11: State Cinema, High Rd., Leytonstone. "Children of Hiroshima" and "Picasso Mystery."

Monday, September 14

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Plans for support of Nuclear Disarmament March round Birmingham. PPU.

WHITLEY BAY: 8 p.m. Social Service Centre. Public mtg. Ritchie Calder, Prof. N. Kemmer. CND.

WHITLEY BAY: Town Centre. CND Literature stall.

Tuesday, September 15

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Institutional Ch., Pound Rd., Warley. Max Madders on Nuclear Disarmament.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. Film Show—"Aldermaston 1959," "The Japanese Fisherman." CND.

WOOD GREEN: Trinity School, near Wood Green tube. Prof. Rotblat, Victor Gollancz, Mervyn Jones. Film of 1959 Aldermaston March. CND.

Wednesday, September 16

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Lower Fore St. "Past Present & Future of the CBCO." Bryan Reed. PPU.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St. Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

Thursday, September 17

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mrs. M. Sorensen "My Work as a JP." PPU.

LONDON, N.13: 7.30 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd. "Stewardship in Industry." Ernest Bader. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.9: 7.30 p.m. Assembly Hall, Wembley Town Hall, Forty Ln. Public Mtg. Cdr. Sir Stephen King-Hall, John Horner, Arthur Goss. CND.

Saturday, September 19

BIRMINGHAM: Inner Circle March: Small Heath Pk. 10 a.m., Aston Pk. 1-2 p.m., Recreation Ground opp. Rotton Pk., to Town Hall 7 p.m. Public mtg. at 7.30 p.m. John Horner, Wallace Lawler, Rev. Michael Scott. CND.

CRAWLEY: 2.30-3 p.m. March around centre of New Town. Open-air mtg. Canon Collins, Mervyn Jones. CND.

YORK: 3 p.m., from Castle Museum, Poster Parade. CND.

Sunday, September 20

LONDON, W.1: 3 p.m. Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

NORTH SHIELDS: 2.30 p.m. Harbour View. March to Whitley Bay. 4 p.m. Panama Dip, rally. CND.



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"NO H-TESTS IN THE SAHARA"

THERE were two protests in London last week against the French Government's intention to explode an A-bomb in the Sahara desert. On Friday, August 28, a picket of the French Embassy took place and on Sunday, August 30, nearly 2,000 people marched from Marble Arch through London's West End to Trafalgar Square, where a meeting took place.

April Carter announced that the possibility of sending a protest team into the Sahara when the French bomb was due to be exploded was being considered.

Both the picket and the demonstration were jointly organised by the Committee of African Organisations and the Direct Action Committee.

From India, South Africa and the Deep South

CHRISTIAN PACIFISTS CONFER IN AUSTRIA

TWO hundred people from 23 countries were present last month at an impressive conference in Austria organised by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, among them individuals active in non-violent resistance in Europe, South Africa and the Deep South of the USA.

Welcoming the members, who represented all the main denominations of the Christian Church, Kaspar Mayr, of Austria, said that it was good that they should feel united and renew their vision never to take arms.

Conviction

Prof. Hannes de Graaf, Chairman of the European Committee of the FoR, referred to the Fellowship's meaningful beginnings in August 1914.

"The positive content of non-violence

50 MILLION H-DEATHS

—U.S. estimate for limited nuclear war

Peace News Reporter

IN A LIMITED ATOMIC ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES ABOUT 50,000,000 PEOPLE WOULD BE KILLED AND ANOTHER 20,000,000 SERIOUSLY INJURED.

Of the country's dwellings, 11,800,000 (more than a quarter) would be destroyed, nearly 10,000,000 damaged and some 13,000,000 others severely contaminated by radio-active fall-out.

Altogether about half of the existing dwellings in the USA would be destroyed or made unfit for human use for several months.

Nearly three-quarters of the deaths would be from blast, thermal effects and immediate radiation effects. A quarter of all deaths would result from fall-out, and more than half of the surviving injured would have radiation injuries.

All this would be the result of a limited nuclear attack on the country, says a report published on Sunday, based on hearings by a sub-committee of the US Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy.

It was assumed that the US had been attacked with 263 nuclear weapons, having

a total yield of 1,446 megatons, detonated on 224 specific targets. An additional 2,500 megatons were assumed to have been dropped elsewhere in the Northern Hemisphere, either in attacks on US bases or in retaliation against "the aggressor."

The report states that recent studies of

the Soviet civil defence indicate that a substantial programme was recently started to train the entire Soviet population in basic survival techniques.

In the New York Times earlier this year, Lieutenant-General Clarence R. Huebner, director of the New York State Civil Defence Commission, predicted that "within five years most Americans would be living in fall-out shelters and would see sunshine only by taking a calculated risk."

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT WEEK

"The most widespread demonstration yet"

"NUCLEAR Disarmament week promises to be the biggest and most widespread demonstration yet mounted by the Campaign," says the latest Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Bulletin. "Meetings will range from Cornwall to Aberdeen, from Swansea to Great Yarmouth."

These are some of the activities organised by local groups for the week:

Greenwich: A petition to the Prime Min-

ister will be brought up by boat to Westminster Pier on Saturday, September 12, for delivery to Downing St.

South Wales: On the morning of Saturday, September 19, there will be marches in the valleys. This will be followed by a march around Cardiff, a rally, at which Christopher Hollis, Diana Collins and Clive Jenkins are speaking, and in the evening a concert in which the Morriston Orpheus Choir is taking part.

Canterbury: A daily Vigil from 8 p.m. to 9.30 p.m., possibly beside the main door of the Cathedral. On the first and last Sundays there will be a short procession through the city.

London: The Youth Group are planning a march through the East End to join the open-air rally in Victoria Park, Hackney, at 3.15 p.m. on Sunday, September 13, and a "Youth Against the Bomb" meeting in Central London on Saturday, September 19.

The London week will conclude with a demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, September 20, at 4 p.m. It will be followed by a short march around the West End and down the Strand to St. Paul's Cathedral. It is hoped that Bertrand Russell will speak in Trafalgar Square. Other

one of the great forces in the evolutionary period upon which we are now embarking."

Referring to South Africa, he said the state was actually fostering racial division and so leading that country into ever-mounting racial antagonisms. Nothing less than the truth for which Christ, and many other martyrs, died would suffice in face of this. They must see themselves as a nation of variety in unity, in which all could share; this would not come without a hard struggle.

Youth Day

On Youth Day, Vikar Peter Schwenk-hagen, a German pastor, spoke of "The Challenge to Youth," and the Conference heard reports on The World Youth Festival, by Andre van der Mensbrugghe; IFoR Youth Work in Scandinavia, by Svend Juul Gaarn Larsen; The IFoR European Youth

among them individuals active in non-violent resistance in Europe, South Africa and the Deep South of the USA.

Welcoming the members, who represented all the main denominations of the Christian Church, Kaspar Mayr, of Austria, said that it was good that they should feel united and renew their vision never to take arms.

Conviction

Prof. Hannes de Graaf, Chairman of the European Committee of the FoR, referred to the Fellowship's meaningful beginnings in August 1914.

"The positive content of non-violence is nothing else than love," he said. "The programme of this Conference is based on this conviction that there is no situation, no department of personal and collective human life in which the beneficial, healing and regenerating action of love would be in principle inapplicable."

An American, Dr. Karel Hujer, dealing with the subject, "The Power of Peace through Love," spoke of the materialism which dominated both sides of the Iron Curtain, and of the mass mentality and tremendous physical power. This, he said, was an age calling for the guidance of the prophets who taught us that salvation is in love and non-violence; instead of the present feverish armaments race we should seek spiritual power.

The Rev. Arthur Blaxall, engaged for 36 years in multi-racial work in South Africa, spoke on "The Ways and Power of Love in Race Relations." The great task, he said, was to awaken understanding, break down apathy, and develop the reign of love where there is only tension and fear. Christians must be humble and try to train their hearts and minds not to use violence. In an emergency there could be great strain; hence the need for study and preparation.

Education

In an impressive discourse, one of Austria's leading scientists, Prof. Hans Thirring, spoke of ways of revolutionising education.

"To abolish war does not imply a radical change of human nature. The task before us is rather to remove the traditional incentive for waging wars, that is the expectation—fed by the old way of teaching, history—of achieving glory and fortune."

Dr. Geoffrey Nuttall, lecturer in Church History at New College, London, spoke on

and so leading that country into ever-mounting racial antagonisms. Nothing less than the truth for which Christ, and many other martyrs, died would suffice in face of this. They must see themselves as a nation of variety in unity, in which all could share; this would not come without a hard struggle.

"The road from revenge to an active concern for the wrongdoer's redemption and the reform of the social conditions which lead to crime is a long road."

The abjuring of force and violence, the mitigation of corporal punishment in relation to criminals and the insane, and the adjustment of the relationship of the father to women and to his children; all had to be altered. Not one of these battles was yet won.

Dr. Nuttall saw the next task of the IFoR as advocating the abandonment of sovereignty—at first in theory, then in practice.

"We must be prepared, if necessary, to accept slavery; it would be in line with the main burden of the Christian ethic."

The Rev. N. H. Smith, Minister of New Pilgrim Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama, who had as his subject: "Love unites over Barriers of Race and Colour," referred to the arrests and ill-treatment of pastors in his city.

"Discrimination and racial upheavals form a moral cancer; the removal of discrimination is only the first step in creating an integrated society.

"There are no more worlds to conquer; we must now turn and conquer ourselves. Co-operation must replace conquests and we must supplement each other's needs."

Africa

Speaking on "Love and Conflict in Africa," the Rev. Michael Scott, Hon. Director of the Africa Bureau, said that at the present time things appeared to be getting worse and he hesitated to hold out false grounds for hope or optimism in a situation which was rapidly deteriorating.

Referring to the growing competition between the newly emerging African states, Michael Scott told of unscrupulous arms dealers who offered surplus, out-of-date arms and ammunition, disposing of them at cut prices, as in South America 20 to 30 years ago. Latent conflicts existed, and there was competition for leadership and struggle between violent and non-violent forces.

Stating that Christianity had been as much noted for its persecution and intolerance as for "the more excellent way," Michael Scott went on to warn: "We lag behind in the interpretation of the more excellent way, which may yet prove to be

and so leading that country into ever-mounting racial antagonisms. Nothing less than the truth for which Christ, and many other martyrs, died would suffice in face of this. They must see themselves as a nation of variety in unity, in which all could share; this would not come without a hard struggle.

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"The Call to Love from India" was the theme of the Rev. Ralph Keithahn, an American who has worked there for 30 years. "The West has its precious contribution to make, but it will be in this great creative meeting between East and West that the world will find peace. . . It is thrilling to be alive today, as we come together and learn of the fullness of love.

One perfectly non-violent man is more powerful than any force." Mr. Keithahn referred to the work of Vinoba Bhavé, and to Ghaffar Khan, a non-violent Moslem, a leader for democracy in Pakistan, at present in prison. He spoke also of a Peace Army Brigade—envisaged by Gandhi and now being organised on an all-Indian level.

Other features of the Conference were: A talk by a Working Priest, Abbé Raymond Croquet, plenary discussion and nightly group discussion (the findings of the 15 groups being ably summarised by the Rev. Philip Eastman, General Secretary).

Active Pacifism

Perhaps the most impressive session of all was the final one, when a black cross was erected on a white background, two candles were lit, and Dr. G. H. C. Macgregor, Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow, gave the closing address: "The Call to Love."

Defining love as "active goodwill towards our fellowmen, which expresses itself in service and which, if necessary, is willing to make sacrifice in the cause of that love," he said:

"Pacifism is not something which is to be confused with passivism, but is always something positive and active. Here we have Jesus Himself as our supreme example, who never condoned or ignored

Sundays there will be a short procession through the city.

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Among those taking part in a Midnight Matinee, "Stars in our Eyes," organised by the Women's Group of the Campaign, will be Dame Peggy Ashcroft, Jill Balcan, Constance Cummings, Cecil Day-Lewis, Gerard Hoffnung, Miles Malleson, Denis Matthews, Michael Redgrave, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Stanley Unwin and others.

The matinee is on Monday, September 21, at 11 p.m. in the Festival Hall. Tickets at £1, 15s., 10s., 7s. 6d., and 5s. and boxes (5 people) at £6 5s. and £3 15s. are now available from the Campaign Office (143 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4) and the box office at the Royal Festival Hall.

[See also page three.]

the stark reality of evil; He did resist it, but not with its own weapons—only by that redemptive love of which the Cross is the symbol."

Remarking that pacifists were often accused of exhorting love to such a high degree that they dethroned justice, Dr. Macgregor said that the real meaning of justice was drawn out only through love, and that the only way we could secure justice was to proclaim the love out of which justice springs.

The whole life of Jesus was one of redemptive love and He went to the Cross rather than be disloyal to that way. From the words of Jesus and those of His leading disciple, Peter, the speaker showed that, contrary to the teaching of some theologians, the Cross of Jesus was for our imitation, as well as our salvation; it was in the light of the Cross that all the evils which were today bedevilling the world must be met and overcome.

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